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TATTOOING OF THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS

By A. T. SINCLAIR

WHEN the Spaniards landed in the West Indian islands, they gazed with astonishment and horror on the "fantastic, diabolical images" of demons (*zemis*) tattooed on the naked bodies of the natives. And early Spanish historians speak of it as a common practice all over Spanish America.

The first volume of the *Jesuit Relations*, which is a résumé of the annual reports for a hundred years, intimates that tattooing was a well-known custom in the whole of New France. In the remaining parts of North America the earliest explorers everywhere reported tattooing.

How general and extensive in amount it was in the different sections it is often impossible to determine from the meager evidence handed down to us, but a careful study of what we have may perhaps clear up some doubts and obscurities.

WEST INDIES. — Oviedo was the first and perhaps the best of the early Spanish historians about Spanish America. He tells us¹ that the natives in Haiti and also on the mainland "imprinted on their bodies the images of their demons (*çemi*),— held and perpetuated in a black color for so long as they live, piercing the flesh and the skin, and fixing in it the cursed figure,— and they do not fail to make it. Thus it is as a seal stamped upon them."

On page 204 he writes :

"In the Isla Española [Haiti] and some parts of the mainland are pines . . . And in Nicaragua among the Chondales are pine forests. One of the trades they carry on is to make from the pitch-wood of these pines a soot, and from this make a powder. They enclose this powder in

¹ *Historia General y Natural de las Indias*, por el Capitan Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés, Primer Cronista del Nuevo Mundo ; Madrid, 1851. The preface (p. v) states these four works most interested the Academy : (1) Oviedo, the most ; (2) Las Casas ; (3) Sahagun ; (4) Obispo de Chiapa. Oviedo was five or six times in America as procurador in Darien, Panama, and Nicaragua, and governor of Santo Domingo, etc. First published in 1534. He was born 1478. Lib. v, chap. 1, p. 126.

leaves, making a lump a palm and a half long and as thick as the wrist. The quantity of powder fixes the prices. They take it to the markets and barter it for other goods. It is their money. It is used to mark Indians as slaves, and devices their masters desire, and also for tattooing others for ornament [they call it *tilé*]. The manner of using it is cutting with razors of flint the face or arm lightly, which they wish to mark, as between the skin and flesh, and powder the cut with this soot (*humo*) when the cut is fresh, and soon it is well, and the drawing (*pintura*) black and very pretty, and the drawing is perpetual for the days which one lives, just as it is branded (*herrado*)."

Further details are also given.

Oviedo in several places speaks of Nicaragua, Venezuela, and the mainland generally, and asserts that tattooing was practised everywhere in Spanish America; and on page 498, as to Cuba, "that the stature, color, idolatries, etc., are all the same as in Haiti." He was well acquainted with Jamaica and other islands. Whether from such general statements it can safely be inferred that tattooing prevailed in all parts of New Spain may perhaps be a question, unless it is confirmed by other authors.

Herrera¹ describes (p. 676) that in Colombia and Ecuador, among certain tribes, the men and women tattooed (*se gravent*) the face and arms, like the Moors; they also painted their bodies.

On page 320 he speaks of men in Nicaragua who spin all naked, their arms tattooed (the word probably means here tattoo). With these exceptions Herrera writes nothing about tattooing in Nicaragua or elsewhere. He frequently refers to body paint and blackening the teeth. Tattooing, we know from other authors, was general in Nicaragua and elsewhere in Central America. This illustrates the fact that it is not safe to infer tattooing does not exist in a country because a careful writer omits to mention it.

Charlevoix² (p. 54) writes :

¹ *Histoire Générale des Voyages et Conquestes des Castillans dans les Isles et Terre-ferme des Indes Occidentales*, traduite de l'Espagnol d'Antoine D'Herrera, etc., par N. de la Coste; Paris, 1671. The accounts are 1521-1526.

² *Histoire de l'isle Espagnole ou de S. Domingue* [from MSS. of P. Jean-Baptiste le Pers, Jesuit missionary to Santo Domingo], par P. Pierre-François-Xavier de Charlevoix; Paris, 1730. Father le Pers was twenty-five years a missionary and sent nine memoirs.

"They called their idols *Chemis*, or *Zemés*, and they imprinted their image on their own bodies (*ils s'en imprimoient l'image sur le corps*). So it is not astonishing if, having them without ceasing before their eyes and fearing them much, they saw them often in dreams. . . . They were all hideous — as toads, tortoises, snakes, alligators," etc.

On page 86: "All were tatttooed (*peints*) in a manner very variegated, some only on the face, or around the eyes, and on the nose, others all over the body." This refers to the island San Salvador when Columbus first landed. Irving translates *peints*, "painted or tattooed." All other accounts of body ornament in the West Indies seem to indicate only tattooing, so far as noticed. This fact and the whole tenor of the description and the context rather suggest tattoo than paint here. *Peints* is the Spanish *pintado*, one of the commonest words for tattooed. These natives, even if painted, were also tattooed, as appears elsewhere.

There is now considerable tattooing among the lower classes, and particularly sailors, in many of the West Indies. The Nañigo, a cut-throat secret society of Cuba, all had a certain tattoo device on the biceps of their arms.

MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA. — In De Landa's work¹ a heading (page 120, § xxii) reads: "Como estos indios se labravan el cuerpo," and the translation "Tatouage de Yucatèques." On the same page we find:

"They tattooed their bodies (*labravanse los cuerpos*), and the more they were tattooed the more valiant and brave they were considered, because the operation of tattooing was very painful, and was done in this manner: The officials worked the parts they desired with ink (*tinta*), and then incised gently the drawings, so that the devices remained in the body with the blood and ink. They tattoo only a little at a time, because the pain is great. They also become ill, for there is inflammation, and matter gathers in the tattooing. In spite of all this, they scoff at those who do not have themselves tattooed."

On page 15 "la Maya" is stated to be the whole of Yucatan, and that a Spaniard, Guerrero, captured by the Maya, learned their language, married a woman of high rank, etc.

¹ *Relation des choses de Yucatan de Diego de Landa*, par l'Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg; Paris, 1864. (Spanish with French translation.)

"He covered his body with tattooing (*Il se couvrit le corps de peinture [labrava su cuerpo makes certain it is tattooing]*), let his hair grow, pierced his ears [etc.], . . . so he would not attempt to leave them" (p. 17).

Professor Seler, in reply to a letter of inquiry, confirms this view. He writes, June 19, 1909:

"There is some information in Spanish literature on the use of tattooing in Central America. Sahagun describes distinctly and accurately the manner of tattooing of the Ohuni tribe. We have, too, in our collection, clay figures that clearly show marks of tattooing on the body and on the face. I have such figures in my Huastecan collection. Others are seen in our collection of Campeche figures. You know, I suppose, the account Fernando de Aguilar gave of his comrade in captivity who preferred to stay with the Indians not the least on account of his facial tattooing and nose and ear piercings."

Aguilar was a fellow captive with Guerrero, but escaped.

De Landa (p. 179) intimates perhaps that all married women were tattooed. "The *femmes publiques* painted themselves black until married. There were a few who tattooed themselves before."

Las Casas¹ states (vol. I, p. 31) that the Spaniards marked (*marqué*) as slaves those they spared on the mainland. He speaks of the immense numbers of natives killed in Nicaragua, and (p. 53) says that in Mexico they marked 4500 as slaves. This was undoubtedly the kind of tattooing referred to by De Landa in Nicaragua, where slaves were tattooed with such marks as their masters desired.

Sahagun² (vol. I, p. 73) tells us that the persons to be sacrificed were painted (*pintaban*) with different colors, etc., and (p. 135) "they put on the face of a woman victim two colors from the nose down, yellow and reddish." This probably was paint simply, not tattooing.

Dr Baca in a recent important work on "Tattooing" in Mexico³ (p. 41) quotes from Orozco y Berra (II, p. 170) as to the women of ancient Mexico as follows: "They tattooed the breast and arms

¹ *Œuvres de Don Barthélemi de Las Casas, Eveque de Chiapa*, par J. A. Llorente; Paris, 1822.

² *Historia General de las Cosas de Nueva España*; Mexico, 1829.

³ *Los Tatuages*, por el Dr Francisco Martinez Baca; México, 1899; large 8°, 299 pp., drawings, etc.

with blue needle-work, making it permanent, by pricking the flesh with lancets" (*Se pintaban pecho y brazos de labores azules, haciéndolas permanentes punzando las carnes con lancetas*). Elaborate body painting was general everywhere in New Spain, and staining the teeth a permanent black certainly was very common.

The Opata (p. 44) in Sonora had this custom. Mothers tattooed newly born children around the eyelids with many black spots which formed arches, which they considered marks of beauty. The tattooing was increased as the child grew older, and was not confined to the face but was extended also to the body. The warriors of this tribe bore long, wavy scars; so among the Guachichiles, who occupied what is now Zacatecas and Coahuila.

The ancient Maya scarified the body to beautify. Experts, after painting the desired figures on the skin, cut it and introduced into the wounds a black earth or powdered charcoal, which made the devices indelible forever. When healed, different figures appeared, as of animals, serpents, and eagles and other birds, ornamented with various fine work.¹

When warriors departed to seek the enemy, they painted their bodies with war paint of different colors. On their return they substituted for this paint the indelible tattooing. This privilege was confined to warriors and nobles. The people of the town were not permitted to be tattooed.²

Cogulludo tells us that the ancient Mexicans engraved on their bodies all kinds of drawings and figures of animals, as eagles, tigers, and serpents, according to the order. The young warrior began with one or two symbolic figures. With each new victim he received a new device, so that the bodies of old heroes were entirely covered with hieroglyphics.

The women did not tattoo the face, but did the body to the waist (pp. 45, 46).

Dr Baca also relates (p. 38) that the Galibis are the present representatives of the Caribes, who were the ancient inhabitants of Venezuela, Colombia, the Guianas, and the Lesser Antilles; and that the Galibis still tattoo the feet, half the legs, the forearms, and

¹ Baca, *Los Tatuages*, p. 45.

² Idem., p. 45.

other parts of the body, and also retain some other very peculiar customs of their ancestors.

Bancroft¹ writes that the men in ancient Oaxaca and Yucatan tattooed on the chest; that (p. 691) tattooing seems to have been practised in Nicaragua; tattooing (p. 716) by cauterization was in use on the Mosquito coast, as seen by Columbus (Colombo, *Hist. del Ammiraglio*, 1709, pp. 403-05), and it is still practised in the interior. Slaves were painted or tattooed only from the mouth upward (p. 753). The natives of Escoria tattooed breast and arms, and (p. 771) slaves were branded or tattooed, with the particular mark of the owner, on the face or hand.

Slaves would naturally be marked in a permanent manner, and not simply painted.

Wuttke remarks (p. 94) that among the ancient inhabitants of Yucatan tattooing was in "full swing"; that it was common in Darien, and (p. 109) that "the Mexicans tattooed their children in their earliest years."

Commander T. O. Selfridge, U. S. N., in his Report of Surveys (1870-73), states that the San Blas or Darien Indians are practically the only inhabitants of the Isthmus of Darien and that all their women tattoo across the bridge of the nose and paint their cheekbones red.

The civilized people of the lower classes in Mexico today are, in some districts at least, often tattooed.

Many Mexicans have informed me that the wild Indians in Yucatan and Central America still continue that practice. So in Central America, and on and below the Isthmus of Panama, it is often said the wild tribes still tattoo, and extensively. Several persons who have lived on the Isthmus for two years or more have insisted to me they had seen several camps of such tattooed savage natives. These persons were themselves tattooed, and much interested in the subject. They were unacquainted with each other and ignorant of what each had told me. It appears from the investigations kindly made for me by order of Colonel Goethals, that the Indians with whom the whites generally come in contact have

¹ *Native Races of the Pacific States of North America*, by Hubert Howe Bancroft; New York, 1874, vol. 1, p. 651.

given up the practice. Wherever the missionary influence is felt, certainly it has disappeared. Body painting however, still is seen.

From these authorities it seems clear that tattooing was a general practice in Haiti, and some if not all of the West Indies. It was part of their religion. No one failed to imprint his *zemis* on his body. In Yucatan, Nicaragua, and Mexico, certain devices were marks of distinction, but slaves were tattooed, and the fact that *tilé* (lumps of soot, tattoo-ink) were made and used in large quantities indicates the extent of the practice. Children were punctured. The custom persists among the representatives of Venezuela, Colombia, and the Antilles today, and among the Indians of north-western Mexico. There is considerable tattooing now among the lower classes in parts of Mexico.

FRENCH AMERICA. — Volume I of the *Jesuit Relations*¹ is "Concerning the Country and Manners of the Canadians or Savages of New France," by Joseph Jouvençy, S. J. (Paris, 1710). All the Jesuit missionaries forwarded to Paris every year a full and detailed account of their work and district. Father Jouvençy compiled this account from these memoirs sent from 1610 to 1710. It was a general history drawn from these detailed accounts. His remarks on tattooing seem to apply to the entire wide extent of country about which he treats. The names of a large number of tribes are given in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Maine, Cape Breton, on both sides of the St Lawrence, and the Great Lakes, to and beyond the Mississippi, and down that river to the Gulf, northward to Hudson bay, New York, and to the Ohio river. The Hurons, the Tobacco Nation, the Neuter Nation, Iroquois, Ottawa, Chippewa, Beavers, Cree, Menomini, Potawatomi, Sauk, Foxes, Winnebago, Miami, Illinois, Sioux, French Louisiana Indians, Abenaki, Penobscot, Micmac, Kennebec, Montagnais, and many others are described as to territory, habits, customs, etc. The Jesuit missions were scattered through this entire territory, and these missionaries traveled extensively, were intelligent, energetic, educated, observing men. Father Jouvençy's conclusion plainly was that tattooing was a common practice among all the tribes there, and universal among some tribes.

¹ *The Jesuit Relations*, edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites; Cleveland, The Burrows Brothers Co., 1896.

Body-painting was general everywhere. In Nova Scotia the noses often were painted blue.

On page 279 Father Jouvency states :

“ Besides these colors, which are usually applied or removed according to the pleasure of each person, many impress upon the skin fixed and permanent representations of birds or animals, such as a snake, an eagle, or a toad, in the following manner : With awls, spear-points, or thorns they so puncture the neck, breast, or cheeks, as to trace rude outlines of those objects ; next they insert into the pierced and bleeding skin a black powder made from pulverized charcoal, which unites with the blood, and so fixes upon the living flesh the pictures which have been drawn, that no length of time can efface them. The whole of some tribes — especially that which is called the Tobacco nation, and also another called the Neutral nation — practise it as an immutable custom and obligation (*id constante more ac lege usurpat*). Sometimes it is not without danger, especially if the season be somewhat cold, or the physical constitution rather weak. For then overcome by suffering, although they do not betray it even by a groan, they swoon away, and sometimes drop dead.”

Sagard¹ states (vol. I, p. 133) :

“ Some have the body and face tattooed (*gravée*) with figures of serpents, lizards, squirrels, and other animals, and especially the Petun tribe, who nearly all have the bodies so covered with devices. . . . These are pricked into the surface of the flesh in the same manner as the crosses which those have on the arm who return from Jerusalem, and it is forever. These puncturings are done at different times, as they cause great pain, and often make them ill, and they have fever, and lose appetite. Still they persist until the designs are completed, showing no outward appearance of the pain. Some women, though but few, submit to the operation.”

In his History of Canada² Sagard thus describes the process :

“ They take a bone of bird or fish, which they sharpen like a razor, with which they engrave, and figure the body, but at different intervals, just as one here makes a coat of arms with a graver. They rub the incisions thoroughly with a black powder, and the figures remain forever, and they cannot be effaced, any more than the *marks* which the pilgrims

¹ *Le Grand Voyage du Pays des Hurons*, par F. Gabriel Sagard Theodat ; Paris, 1865. The original edition was 1632.

² *Histoire du Canada*, par Gabriel Sagard Theodat ; New ed., Paris, 1866, vol. II, p. 347.

who return from Jerusalem have on their arms. . . . Some women and girls submit to these incisions to show they are *belles* and *brave*."

Body-painting of both sexes was a general practice. Sagard describes the Hurons, Montagnais, Iroquois, Souriquois, Algonkin, and other tribes, and apparently refers to these and all the Indians in New France to Lake Michigan.

Potherie¹ describes a picked body of two hundred athletic young men, from the *Pietons* (walkers) and belonging to the Miami, Maskoutens, Kickapoo, and Illinois. These had the whole body pricked with black, in tracings of many sorts of figures; and devices of arrows, tomahawks, belts, and garters, in a knitting-work design. The grand chief of the Miami came first, at the head of 3000 men, belonging to many different tribes — Sauk, Foxes, Sioux, etc. (p. 106). It would seem that these braves were selected from all these tribes, and that tattooing was universal at least among the warriors in the whole region.

Body-painting he speaks of as universal.

Colonel Mallery² quotes from the *Jesuit Relations* (1641, p. 75) "that the Neuter Nation had their bodies tattooed from head to foot with a thousand divers devices."

In the *Jesuit Relation* for 1663 (p. 28) there is an account that an Iroquois chief bore on his thigh sixty marks indicating the sixty enemies he had killed.

WISCONSIN AND MICHIGAN.—The Algonquian tribes everywhere seem to have practised the custom. The Menomini word for tattoo mark is *tâ'tshikaqu'n*.³

ESKIMO. — Gilder⁴ thus describes, from personal observation, the tattooing of the Eskimo of the Hudson Bay region :

"[When married] the wife then has her face tattooed with lamp-black and is regarded as a matron in society. The method of tattooing is to pass a needle under the skin, and as soon as it is withdrawn its course is followed by a thin piece of pine stick dipped in oil and rubbed in soot from the bottom of a kettle. The forehead is decorated with a letter V in double lines, the angle very acute, passing down between the eyes almost

¹ *Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, etc., from 1534-1701, by M. de Bacqueville de la Potherie, né à la Guadeloupe; Paris, 1753, vol. II, p. 104.

² *Tenth Rep. Bur. Am. Eth.*, p. 394.

³ Hoffman in *Fourteenth Rep. Bur. Am. Eth.*, pt. I, p. 326.

⁴ *Schwatka's Search*, by William H. Gilder; N. Y., 1881.

to the bridge of the nose, and sloping gracefully to the right and left, before reaching the roots of the hair. Each cheek is adorned with an egg-shaped pattern, commencing near the wing of the nose, and sloping upward toward the corner of the eye ; these lines are also double. The most ornamented part however is the chin, which receives a gridiron pattern ; the lines double from the edge of the lower lip ; and reaching to the throat towards the corners of the mouth, sloping outward to the angle of the lower jaw. This is all that is required by custom, but some of the belles do not stop here. Their hands, arms, legs, feet, and in fact their whole bodies, are covered with blue tracery that would throw Captain Constantine completely in the shade. Ionic columns, Corinthian capitals, together with Gothic structures of every kind, are erected wherever there is an opportunity to place them ; but I never saw any attempt at figures or animal drawing for personal decoration. The forms are generally geometrical in design, and symmetrical in arrangement, each limb receiving the same ornamentation as its fellow. None of the men are tattooed. Some tribes are more profuse in this sort of decoration than others. The Iwillik and Kinnepatoos are similar, and as I have described ; but the Netchillik, Ookjoolik, and Ooqueesiksillik women have the designs upon their faces constructed with three lines instead of two, one of them being broader than the others. The pattern is the same as that of the Iwilliks and Kinnepatoos, with the addition of an olive branch at the outside corners of the eyes and mouth."

These Eskimo inhabited the northern part of Hudson bay and the coast some distance toward the west, and might be called the Central Eskimo.

On St Lawrence island, Alaska, —

" . . . a woman was tattooed in curved lines along the sides of the cheek, the outer one extending from the lower jaw over the temple and eyebrow."

At Cape Thompson —

" all the women were tattooed upon the chin with three small lines, which is a general distinguishing mark of the fair sex along the coast. This is effected by drawing a blackened piece of thread through the skin with a needle as with the Greenlander."

One girl, thirteen years of age, was marked upon the chin with a single blue line, and a girl of ten had no tattooing.¹

¹ *Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and Behring's Strait*, by Captain F. W. Beechey, R. N. ; London, 1831, vol. 1, pp. 332, 360, 407.

Richardson¹ asserts —

“In Greenland and throughout Eskimo-land the women tattoo their faces in blue lines produced by making stitches with a fine needle and thread, smeared with lamp-black. Every tribe has a recognized form of tattooing.”

Crantz,² who was a missionary in Greenland for thirty years, states that the women —

“have a thread blackened with soot drawn betwixt the skin of their chin, and also their cheeks, hands, and feet, which leaves such a black mark behind when the thread is drawn away, as if they had a beard. The mother performs this painful operation on her daughter in her childhood, for fear she might never get a husband. . . . Our baptized Greenlanders have relinquished this practice long ago.”

Captain Back³ found the Eskimo women near the Great Fish river “much tattooed about the face and middle and fourth fingers.” One of them —

“had six tattooed lines drawn obliquely from the nostrils across the cheek; eighteen from her mouth across her chin, and the lower part of her face; ten small ones branching like a larch tree, from the corner of each eye; and eight from the forehead to the centre of the nose, between the eyebrows.”

The men were not tattooed (p. 288).

Murdoch⁴ made a careful study of the subject and collected a large number of authorities. He states (p. 176) that the tattooing of women is almost universal among the Eskimo from Greenland to Kodiak island, including the Eskimo of Siberia except in Smith sound, although intercourse with the whites is diminishing the practice. At Point Barrow he found it confined principally to their chins, one to seven vertical lines. A single line was rare, but then broad. They were generally tattooed at maturity, but some little girls had one line. On the men, tattooing was a mark of distinction, as lines across the cheek indicated the number of whales cap-

¹ *The Polar Regions*, by Sir John Richardson; Edinburgh, 1861, p. 305.

² *History of Greenland*, by David Crantz; London, 1767, vol. 1, p. 138.

³ *Narrative of the Arctic Land Expedition*, 1833-1835, by Capt. Back, R. N.; Philadelphia, 1836, p. 289.

⁴ Point Barrow Exped., 1881-1883, *Ninth Rep. Bur. Am. Eth.*

tured. One had the flukes of seven whales, lines on the breast ; another lines on the arm. A wife had little marks at the corners of the mouth, showing whales taken by her husband. Some whale-marks were lines over the nose, or from the eye to the cheek, or crosses on the shoulder. The same marks are seen in the Mackenzie district.

Two horizontal lines across the nose indicated a murderer ; the killing of a bear had its mark, and other devices were in remembrance of an absent or a deceased person. The operation was performed with a needle and thread, smeared with soot or gunpowder ; it was painful, and followed by inflammation for several days. Murdoch's quotations mention devices on different parts of the body. It is stated (p. 140) that the chin lines on women prevail among certainly most of the Eskimo everywhere ; sometimes the tattooing extends to the arms, body, etc.

Captain Cook refers to the chin marks on Eskimo women. G. Holm¹ writes that the Greenland Inuit tattoo geometric figures or streaks and points ; the females on breasts, arms, legs. Bancroft (vol. I, p. 42) notes that the Eskimo women tattoo lines on the chin : some, one vertical line in the center, and one on each side, parallel ; higher classes, two vertical lines, one from each corner of the mouth ; that young Kodiak wives tattoo the breast and face with black lines, and that Kuskokwim women sew into their chin, with a thread covered with soot, two parallel lines.

Wuttke (p. 111) asserts that the Koryak women are tattooed after marriage, and every year new marks are added. The Aleut women tattoo.

Joest (p. 4) remarks that all women among the Eskimo and many Pacific coast tribes tattoo lines on the chin ; and Dr O. Finsch (p. 49) that the Aleut tattoo on chin, neck, arms ; the women a moustache (like the Aino and the Yakut).

Wood² writes that the Eskimo in some places cover the limbs and much of the body ; some the forehead, cheeks, chin ; and that chin lines mostly indicate marriage, although some unmarried girls have them.

¹ *Eth. Skiz.*, Copenhagen, 1887, pp. 101, 108.

² *Man. Asia*, p. 698.

Many other authorities can be quoted, and it will be noticed writers differ somewhat, largely because their statements are merely incidental without any accurate study of the subject.

Dr George B. Gordon¹ found all these Eskimo women were tattooed with the chin lines, and had devices also on other parts of the body: one had on her forearm a coarsely crocheted "mitt";² a boy had a raven on his breast, and whale fins on his arms. Many tattoo marks evidently had a deeper meaning.

Old whalemens have told me all the Eskimo wore some mark, perhaps only a small design.

In a summer camp of Eskimo at Nome, Alaska, in 1907, consisting of two hundred persons, all the women had two double lines on the chin. They belonged to the Diomedes, King's island, Cape Prince of Wales, and two or three families in Siberia. All were exactly the same Eskimo, intermarried, and frequently passed to and fro between America and Asia.

Tattooing plainly was an almost universal custom among the Eskimo. The women had lines on the chin which indicated marriage; the unmarried girls generally were marked with one line there at puberty. Other parts of their bodies also bore designs—breast, back, legs, arms, forehead, cheeks: such as a V on forehead, egg-shaped patterns or trees on cheeks, fan-like devices nose to forehead, lines at corners of mouth and eyes, geometric stripes and points on any part of the body. The chin lines were sometimes worked into elaborate designs. Some writers state that no man will marry a girl unless she has one chin line, and that women without any device are not well received in the next world. The men bear various devices, as whale marks (number killed), ravens, whale-fins, etc., and on different parts of the body.

HAIDA.—The most elaborate and artistic tattooing was found among the Haida of Queen Charlotte islands and Prince of Wales island. A tribal professional tattooer did the work, which was performed at festivals and accompanied with ceremonies. The devices

¹ Notes on the Western Eskimo, *Trans. Dept. Archaeology Univ. Pa.*, 11, pt. 1.

² The hands and arms of the women of Yap, Western Carolines, are tattooed with mitts, as in the Marshall islands.—*Cent. Dict.*, under "Mitt." *Pop. Sci. Mo.*, xxx, 208.

were often the same as those painted on their boats and house fronts, and carved on pillars and monuments as heraldic designs, family totems, or crests, viz., thunder-bird, bear, beaver, wolf, goat, split cod-fish, sculpin, dragon-fly, dog-fish, double raven or eagle, frog, squid, halibut, bear's head, eagle's head, mythological wolf, etc. Every line and pattern had its name and meaning. The men were tattooed between the shoulders, on the breast, front of both thighs, legs below the knee; the women, breast, both shoulders, forearms to knuckles, both legs below the knee. On a woman's arms and hands was her family name, as bear, cod, etc.; on a man's breast a cod split open, on each thigh an octopus, on the lower leg a frog. The breast of a woman had the head and fore-paws of a beaver, and each shoulder an eagle's head; each forearm a halibut; right leg a sculpin, left a frog. The devices varied in different individuals. Another woman had a bear's head on her breast, on each shoulder a thunder-bird's head, on the arms and legs, bears. One man's back had a split mythical wolf, and his face and fingers also animal devices, as bears, etc. The process was painful, and years were required to complete the whole work. The peculiar broad lines and many of the figures and the general character of the whole remind one strongly of the tattooing in some of the Pacific islands, where also the devices are found on canoes, pillars, house fronts, etc. Some of the designs are singularly like those of the ancient Mexicans.

Swanton suggests: "It is barely possible that the Haida custom of tattooing may have come from some Polynesian island, as its introduction is always said by the natives to be recent."¹

Swan gives a full account of his own original research.¹ He mentions the following tribes from Prince of Wales archipelago to Bentinck Arm, about 52° N.: Massets, Skiddegates, Cumshawas. Laskeets, and the Skringwai, of Queen Charlotte islands; the Kai-gani, Howkan, Klemakoan, and Kazan, of Prince of Wales archipelago; the Chimsyans about Fort Simpson and on Chatham sound; the Nass and Skeenas, the Sebasses, and the Millbank Sound Indians, including the Hailtzas, Bella Bella, Bella Coola, etc. Among

¹ Handbook Am. Inds., *Bull.* 30, *Bur. Am. Eth.*, 1, 539.

² Tattoo Marks of the Haida, etc., by James G. Swan, *Fourth Rep. Bur. Eth.*, 661.

all these bands or tribes tattooing in some manner is common, "but the most marked are the Haidas proper, or those on Queen Charlotte islands, and the Kaiganis of Prince of Wales archipelago, Alaska." Referring to some authors, he expresses himself thus :

"How these writers, if they had seen naked Haida, could see them without tattoo marks I cannot understand . . . I am of the opinion, judging from my own observation of over twenty years among the coast tribes, that but few females can be found among the Indians, not only on Vancouver's island, but all along the coast to the Columbia river, and perhaps even to California, that are not marked with some device tattooed on their hands, arms, or ankles, either dots or straight lines ; but among all the tribes mentioned the Haidas stand preëminent for tattooing, and seem to be excelled only by the natives of the Fiji islands or the King's Mills group in the South Seas."

The devices are family totems, and are similar to those on carvings, monuments, etc., and every mark has its meaning. Those on the hands and arms of the women indicate the family name, as eagle, bear, wolf, beaver. One quaintly said to Swan, "If you were tattooed with a swan, we should know your family name."

The process is to first draw the design on the person with a dark pigment, then prick it in with needles, and rub over the wound with more of the color until the proper hue is acquired. It is not all done at once. One instrument was a flat strip of ivory or bone, to which were tied five or six needles projecting only a little, to avoid a dangerous wound. The operation is very painful and made some quite sick for several days. It is a mark of honor, and done just before a festival in open lodge. Often years are required to complete it. Not every one can tattoo, only experts.

Swan calls attention to the similarity of carvings, etc., here and in Central America.

Hoffman¹ in 1884 met a band of Haida from Queen Charlotte islands. Most of them were tattooed on the breast, back, forearm, and legs. With them was the tribe tattooer, whose work was remarkable. The black color was powdered charcoal, gunpowder, or India ink, and the red, Chinese vermilion. Formerly the instruments were sharp thorns, fish spines, or bones, but recently

¹ *Tenth Rep. Bur. Eth.*, p. 396.

bunches of needles. There was much ulceration. He gives copies of many designs copied from the flesh of these Indians.

The Haida, like many other tribes of this coast, also paint their faces and bodies, sometimes with elaborate figures for their festivals or potlaches.

Dr Swanton has contributed some eighty-one facial paintings of the Tlingit, with their meanings.¹ The faces are represented with the markings in colors as drawn by two natives. No better example could be cited of how much important material can be gathered about meanings, and that such work demands time, patience, opportunity, and training for such investigations.

Poole² describes the difference between such painting, which was temporary, and tattooing which is permanent. He lived among the Haida two years and states that many festivals are purely social. For these they first wash the black paint from their bodies; then they smear them with fish grease to make the colors "stick well," and repaint in red their faces, chests, and arms with figures of men, birds, or fish. Then they sprinkle their bodies all over with white down.

On page 310 Poole writes the usage is common among the women of disfiguring their breasts, arms, ears, and underlip. One daughter of a chief had half her body tattooed with representations of chiefs, fish, birds, and beasts. "She told me that a halibut laid open, with the face of the chief drawn on the tail, would protect her and her kin from drowning at sea."

Bancroft and some other writers speak as if there was little tattooing among the Haida. This is quite correctly explained by Swan. When they visit the towns they are clothed, hence marks only on the hands are visible.

In a letter to the author, Dr C. F. Newcombe, Victoria, British Columbia, writes that most of his observations on tattooing had been made among the Haida, and a good deal had already been published by Swan, etc., in early volumes of the Bureau of American Ethnology. "Many of the identifications of the crests are wrong, but the conclusions are in the main correct."

¹ The Tlingit Indians, by John R. Swanton, *Twenty-sixth Rep. Am. Bur. Eth.*, p. 418, pls. xlviii-lvi.

² *Queen Charlotte Islands*, by Francis Poole; London, 1872, p. 321.

Lieut. G. T. Emmons was away from his notes at the time he wrote me (Dec. 17, 1908), as follows :

“Tattooing among the Northwest Coast tribes is rather an extensive subject, and each particular people would have to be taken up separately, as some practised it to a much greater extent than others in the past. There are many different people from Puget sound to Bering sea, and where with some tattooing was totemic in character, in conventionalized animal designs, among adjoining people it was geometric, in conventional design, and again merely ornamental and meaningless. I simply say this to show how extended the study would be, to be at all accurate.”

These two letters indicate two things : how extensive tattooing was on this whole coast, and that these investigators have valuable material which it is to be hoped some time will be made available to scholars.

NORTHWEST COAST AND INTERIOR. — The Tsimshian, Kwakiutl, and Bellacoola tattooed the arms and feet, the Nootka the breast and arms, and often had scars running from breast to belly and down the legs and arms. Tribes practising the *Hamatsa* ceremonies show remarkable scars by biting.

The carved faces of Kwakiutl posts show tattooing.¹

The Kutchin (Athabaskan) on the Yukon tattooed a black stripe down the forehead and nose, etc., and the women the chin.²

The Cree (Algonquian) in Manitoba, Assiniboia to Hudson bay and Lake Athabaska, tattooed one or two lines on the chin.³

Speaking of the Kristeneaux, or Cree, Mackenzie⁴ says that some of the women tattoo three perpendicular lines, which are sometimes double, one from the center of the chin to that of the underlip, and one parallel on either side to the corner of the mouth. And the Indians farther north have a black artificial stripe across the face beneath the eyes (p. 148). The belly and breasts were scarred by burning to cure disease or to show courage (p. 241).

The Chipewyans, an Athabaskan tribe, were a numerous people between latitude 60° and 65° N., and longitude 100° and 110° W.

¹ Mallery in *Tenth Rep. Bur. Am. Eth.*, pp. 391, 407.

² Bancroft, *Native Races*, I, p. 127.

³ Wulke, *Die Entstehung der Schrift*, p. 130.

⁴ *Voyages in North America*, etc., 1789-1793, by Sir Alexander Mackenzie ; New York, 1802, p. 66.

(p. 82). Among these "both sexes have blue or black bars, or from one to four straight lines, on their cheeks or forehead, to distinguish the tribe to which they belong. These marks are either tattooed or made by drawing a thread, dipped in the necessary color, beneath the skin" (p. 85).

Father Moricé gives interesting details of the Western Dénés.¹ He states that tattooing was formerly very prevalent among these, and not confined to the chest, arms, and legs, as in the neighboring heterogeneous tribes, but extended to the face. The face designs were generally lines, single or parallel, on the cheeks, forehead, temples, chin, or radiating from corners of mouth, and were not totemic. Where figures, these were crosses, fishes, birds, fern-root diggers, etc. The breast was not so commonly tattooed as among the coast tribes, but the devices here were mostly totemic. The symbol (p. 208) of the grizzly bear was greatly honored, and its marking "cost many a ceremonial banquet." The forearms, inside and out, were more often the seat of a personal totemic design, an animal seen in a dream. Sometimes the marks on arms and legs were intended as a charm against weakness, then being simply one or two transverse lines. The face devices were conventional signs for the otter, a fish, bird, beaver, stick in water, mountain, fern-root digger, marten, lizard, caribou.

OREGON AND WASHINGTON. — Of the Takelma of southwestern Oregon, Dr Edward Sapir writes in this journal (April, 1907, p. 264) that boys do not tattoo. Girls have three down stripes on chin, one in the middle, one on each side. Girls not marked are derided as boys. Men are rarely tattooed on the face, but generally only with a series of marks on the left arm as a means of measuring strings of shell money.

Mallery² states that the tribes of Oregon, Washington, and northern California used sharp pieces of bone, thorns, and the dorsal spines of fish, but now needles.

The Reverend Mr Eells reported that for tattooing the Twana Indians of Washington use a needle and thread, blackening the thread with charcoal and drawing it under the skin as deeply as they can bear it.

¹ *Transactions Canadian Institute*, 1895, IV, 1892-93, p. 182.

² *Fourth Rep. Bur. Eth.*, 1886, p. 49.

Bancroft¹ says that the Chinook tattooed lines and dots on the arms, legs, and cheeks, pricked in with pulverized charcoal.

CALIFORNIA. — Prof. R. B. Dixon writes me, January, 1908 :

“For the northern California area, where I have done most of my field work, it is always practised, but in use much more by women than men. The women make a series of vertical lines on the chin, or cheek, or both. In some tribes, as on the lower Klamath, the edges of the lines are saw-toothed ; occasionally a few lines on the breast, and among the Maidu, at least, lines or dots on backs of hands. The men rarely had tattooing on the face ; when they did, as among the Maidu, it was a vertical line from nose across the forehead. Rarely men had one or two vertical lines on the chin, but more commonly a few lines on arm or breast for measuring strings of beads, arrows, etc. A woman's marks generally show she is marriageable. The practice now is dying out. The minute details differ with the tribes. So to a certain extent they serve as tribe marks. There is no reason to consider the practice as borrowed, or new. Generally the marks are made about the age of puberty, but no elaborate ceremony is observed. Shasta girls note their dreams on the following night. Certainly it is more than ornament in California.

“The verbal stem of Wintun terms for tattoo is : Chimariko, *kat*, ‘to cut’ ; Achomawi, *tei-tchip*, ‘to split fine’ ; Atsugewi, *tce*.”

Regarding the Achomawi and Atsugewi, Professor Dixon² states :

“Tattooing was little used on the whole. Women made three lines on the chin ; some also put lines on the cheek. Men occasionally had a line of small dots running from the eye across the temple.”

Beechey³ relates as to the Californian Indians :

“Tattooing is practised in these tribes by both sexes ; both to ornament the person and to distinguish one clan from the other. It is remarkable that the women mark their chins precisely in the same way as the Esquimeaux.”

Ida Pfeiffer⁴ noticed that the Indian women of northern California “were tattooed on the hands and arms as well as the chin ;” and at Marysville, at the confluence of the Feather and Yuba rivers, “the women are a little tattooed on the chin.”

¹ *Native Races*, I, 229.

² *American Anthropologist*, April-June, 1908, p. 210.

³ Beechey, vol. II, p. 77.

⁴ *A Lady's Second Journey*, etc. ; N. Y., 1856, pp. 307, 317.

Langsdorf¹ remarks that most California women are tattooed from chin to breast, and on the shoulders; some have a double or single line from the corners of the mouth to the chin; some lines in the center of the chin.

Wuttke² writes that the Coast Indians by their tattooing recognized friend from foe.

Karok women tattoo three narrow fern-leaves perpendicular on the chin: one in the center, one in each corner of the mouth.

Nearly every man among the Hupa has ten lines on the inner side of the left arm to measure shell money from the thumb nail.

Patawat women tattoo three narrow pinnate leaves perpendicular on chin, and lines and small dots on hands.

Women of the Kastel Pomo and other tribes of the Coast range often tattoo trees or something over the whole abdomen and breast.

Wintun women all tattoo three narrow lines on chin, one in center, one at each corner of the mouth.

The Mattoal differ from other tribes because the men tattoo. Their distinctive mark is a round blue spot in the center of the forehead. Women tattoo nearly the whole face.

Powers states that California Indian women never attempt ornamental devices, but adhere to regulation tribe marks.

Lieut A. W. Whipple remarks of the Mohave that blue marks on a woman's chin denote she is married.

Gatschet reports that among the Klamath few men now tattoo the face. These have a single line, lip to chin. Half-breed girls have one line there; full-blood women four vertical lines. Powers speaks of "the tattooed chins" of the Klamath maidens.

Modoc women tattoo three vertical lines on chin.³

Bancroft⁴ states of central California that tattooing is universal among the women, although limited in extent—the three chin lines, as in northern California, and also slightly on the neck and breast, as tribe marks; but the men rarely tattoo. The "New

¹ *Travels*, 1806, vol. II, p. 144.

² Page 104.

³ Mallery in *Tenth Rep. Bur. Eth.*, 406; Powers in *Contrib. N. Am. Eth.*, III, p. 20, etc., and in *Overland Monthly* VIII, 1872, p. 329; Bancroft, *Native Races*, I, p. 332, etc.; Goddard, *Life and Culture of the Hupa*, 1903, p. 49.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 369.

Almaden" cinnabar mine was resorted to from time immemorial for a hundred miles away. At Bodega the women "were as much tattooed as any in the Sandwich Islands," and in the Sacramento valley most of the men had some devices on the breast. Bancroft also quotes from Hale, Wilkes, Kelley, La Perouse, Drake, Petits-Thouar, Choris, Auger, etc., showing these authors noticed tattooing here, and the triple lines on the chin of women and devices elsewhere.

In northern California the same writer mentions (p. 326) the various tribes, Klamath, Modoc, Shasta, Pit River Indians, Yurok, Karok, Hupa, numerous tribes along the coast as Wiyots, Wallies, Tolawahs, and Rogue River Indians, among all of whom tattooing was "universal among the women, and much practised by the men," the latter confining it to the breast and arms (p. 332). The women had the three vertical chin lines, and in some tribes marks on the arms and hands. Some details are given of the Shasta, Trinidad Bay, Mad River, Humboldt, Eel River, Karok, and other Indians quoted from early explorers, all showing the same devices as above given.

In southern California, according to Father Boscana, the Luiseno girls were tattooed in infancy on the face, breast, and arms. Charcoal was pricked in with a cactus thorn.

The Serranos of southern California formerly tattooed on cheeks and chin the same designs drawn or incised on trees or boundary posts. This was still in vogue in 1843.

The Mattoal men, according to Hoffman, tattooed a round blue spot on the forehead.¹ Speaking of the same people (Mattole), Goddard² says: "The men tattoo a distinctive mark on the forehead."

All adult women among the Hupa "were tattooed with vertical black marks on the chin, and sometimes curved marks were added at the corners of the mouth."³ The men "had a set of lines tattooed on the inside of the left forearm to measure shell money."⁴

¹ Hoffman in *Trans. Anthropol. Soc. Wash.*, 11, p. 66, 1883.

² *Handbook Am. Inds.*, 1, p. 823.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 583.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 447.

The Mohave, a Yuman tribe of the Colorado river, "are famed for the artistic painting on their bodies. Tattooing was universal, but confined to small areas of the skin."¹

Enough quotations and statements have been cited to indicate that Swan's assertion that hardly a woman could be found on the whole Pacific coast as far south as the Columbia river who had not some tattoo mark seems to have been almost as true to the Mexican boundary. Even today tattooing is general among very many of these tribes, and large numbers of the men also bear devices. In fact the custom has persisted to a much greater extent on this coast than anywhere else in North America excepting among the Eskimo. Elsewhere many tribes in which it was universal have lost all remembrance of the practice. White men's ways, white husbands, change in habitat, mode of life, habits, customs, the great diminution in numbers, loss of pride in their race, the general depressing effect of civilization on the Indian in so many ways, have greatly affected tattooing. The missionaries too have discouraged it. It is said to have nearly disappeared among the remaining nine hundred Haida, at least as an elaborate art.

The three vertical lines on a woman's chin indicating marriage, and measuring marks on the left arms of the men, are universal in many tribes. A round spot in the middle of the forehead is found in some, and formerly trees and various designs were tattooed on the bodies. The devices everywhere were more than ornamental, and seem to have been symbolic, or to have had some definite purpose.

NORTHWESTERN MEXICO AND ARIZONA. — Among the Pima of Arizona "the older women have tattooed lines on the chin, and frequently a single line from the external angle of each eye backward. The young neither tattoo nor paint."²

The late Dr Frank Russell tells us³ of the Arizona Pima :

"A few lines were tattooed on the faces of both men and women. Thorns and charcoal were used in the operation. The thorns were from the outer borders of the prickly-pear cactus ; from two to four were tied

¹ *Handbook Am. Inds.*, 1, p. 919.

² Hrdlička in *Am. Anthropologist*, Jan., 1906, p. 45.

³ The Pima Indians, *Twenty-sixth Rep. Bur. Am. Eth.*, pp. 161, 162.

together with loosely twisted native cotton fiber to enlarge the lower portion to a convenient size for grasping, while the upper end was neatly bound with sinew. The charcoal, from either willow or mesquite wood, was pulverized and kept in balls 2 or 3 cm. in diameter (fig. 78). Both men and women did the work, but the female artist was preferred, as she was more careful. Their fees were small and uncertain.

"[The lines] were drawn on the face first with dry charcoal, then some of the powdered charcoal was mixed with water, and the thorns were dipped into this and pricked into the skin along the outlines. As the operation progressed the face was frequently washed to see if the color was being well pricked in. Two operations were necessary, though it sometimes took more; one operation occupied an entire day. For four days thereafter the face remained swollen, and throughout that period the wound was rubbed with charcoal daily. At the end of that time a wash of squash seeds macerated in water was applied. Sometimes the lips were slow in healing and the individual was compelled to subsist upon pinole, as the swollen lips and chin forbade partaking of solid food; during this time the squash applications were continued.

"The men were tattooed along the margin of the lower eyelid and in a horizontal line across the temples. Tattooing was also carried across the forehead, where the pattern varied from a wavy transverse line to short zigzag vertical lines in a band that was nearly straight from side to side. Occasionally a band was also tattooed around the wrist. The women had the line under the lids, as did the men; but instead of the lines upon the forehead they had two vertical lines on each side of the chin, which extended from the lip to the inferior margin of the jaw, and were united by a broad bar of tattooing, which included the whole outer third of the mucous membrane of the lip on either side.

"The tattooing was done between the ages of 15 and 20; not it would seem at the time of puberty, but at any time convenient to the individual and the operator. Oftentimes a bride and groom were tattooed just after marriage. All the older Pimas are tattooed, but the young people are escaping this disfigurement. . . .

"The meaning of the designs is unknown. The Pimas aver that the lines prevent wrinkles; thus fortified they retain their youth."¹

Both sexes among the Pima painted their bodies. "The men used more black, and were especially careful to intensify the tattoo marks." If the devices ever had meaning, it is now forgotten.

¹It may be added that the New Zealanders claim the same.

Plate XXXVIII, figure *d*, of Dr Russell's memoir shows distinctly three vertical lines on a woman's chin, and many vertical lines on each cheek from the eyes as far down as the corners of the mouth.

Bancroft¹ says of the Pima that some tattoo their newly born children round the eyelids, and girls at maturity from the corners of the mouth to the chin.

Of the tribes of northwestern Mexico, the same writer says the Tarahumare tattoo the forehead, lips, and cheeks, in various patterns. The Yaqui tattoo the chin and arms, while other tribes tattoo the face or body in styles peculiar to themselves. He gives a long list of authorities.

Dr Antonio Peñafiel, Director General de Estadística de Mexico, has kindly directed my attention to the valuable work of Dr Baca. He has also been interested to write to proper officials in Sonora and Yucatan for information about tattooing there. One phrase in a report to the Mexican Legislature on the tribes in Sonora is about the Seris and as follows :

“ Los hombres como las mujeres se pintan la cara con colores indelebles usando preferentemente el azul.” (The men, like the women, tattoo (paint) the face with indelible colors, using principally blue.)

Dr Baca (p. 44) mentions the fact that the ancient natives of northwestern Mexico tattooed around the eyes.

Chroniclers of the Coronado expedition in 1540-42² describe these same marks evidently among the Opatá Indians: “The women tattoo (*se labran*) on the chin and eyes like the Moorish women of Barbary” (p. 449). The Moorish women tattoo lines on the chin and marks near the eyes. This was in the Suya valley (p. 516), forty leagues from Señora (Sonora), and the ancient people, their habits and customs, were the same throughout a large part of northwestern Mexico.

Again we find (p. 356) “some painted Indians [perhaps the Pima or Sobaipuri of the Gila drainage] having their faces, chests, and arms tattooed.”

¹ *Native Races*, I, p. 532, quoting Walker, Johnson, Bartlett, et al.

² *Fourteenth Rep. Bur. Am. Eth.*, 1896.

A Mexican band of 97 musicians performed at a Food Fair held in Boston during October, 1908. There was also a large Mexican exhibit. On several days I took advantage of the opportunity to make careful inquiries about tattooing, not only from the members of the band but from more than a dozen other Mexicans — merchants, professional men, etc. They nearly all agreed on these points : that there was very little tattooing in the army but considerable among the lower classes in many parts of the country, and among sailors ; that the savage wild Maya still tattoo, and among some of the hostile tribes in Sonora the practice is extensive and universal. One physician said he had seen a large number of the Sonora Indians. Most of them knew that tattooing was a general custom in ancient Mexico and Central America. All told me that their most common word for tattooing was *tātūā'gē* ; that *gravado* (engraved) was also common, and *pintado* (painted), *labrado* (worked), and *picado* (pricked) were also used.

These interviews were interesting as showing the views of a large number of intelligent Mexicans. It is plain there is much to be learned in Sonora and perhaps in Yucatan.

NEW MEXICO. — Mr Stewart Culin made inquiries for me among the Zuñi, and writes :

“Tattooing (*tsi'-na-ni*) was formerly practised. The devices were a morning star, new moon, sun, lightning, all on forehead ; stars, snakes, lizards, crowfeet, and creek symbols on back of hand and arms, and no marks upon the bodies. It was practised by young men and girls, and thought to be lucky. A few persons now in the village are tattooed. Nick has the letters ‘N-i-c-k’ on his arm and a row of four dots on his forehead. Others have their name, and dots which signify stars. Nick says it is an old custom probably from Mexico. The crescent was borrowed from the Spanish horse-trappings, and is considered good luck in Spain.”

In New Mexico the Coronado Expedition heard glowing accounts of Quivira, identified as the Wichita Indian country of eastern central Kansas. “In the camp was another tattooed (*pintado*) Indian, a native of Quivira.”¹

“The Wichita are known as the *Tattooed People* from an old

¹ Castañeda's narration in *Fourteenth Rep. Bur. Am. Eth.*, 1896, p. 441.

custom now nearly obsolete. Hence the French called them *Pani Piqués*, "Pricked Pawnees."¹

In New Mexico also, in Coronado's time (1540-42),² "a tattooed Indian woman (*una india labrada*) ran away, because she recognized the country of the Tiguex [the Tigua country along the Rio Grande] where she had been a slave."

Another case of tattooing is spoken of:³

"They found a female Indian as white as a woman of Castile, except that she had her chin tattooed (*labrada*) like a Moorish woman of Barbary. Here all in general tattoo themselves (*se labran*) in this way, and they have designs about the eyes."

This was the district of or near northwestern Texas.

TEXAS AND THE GULF STATES.—Of the western portion of this district, perhaps Texas, Joutel,⁴ writing in 1687, states that the women tattooed their faces, some with a streak from the top of the forehead to the chin, others a triangle at the corner of the eyes; they also had devices on the breasts and shoulders, and pricked completely the lips. All these marks were made with charcoal which needed the blood to penetrate and which lasted for life.

Tattooing was practised among the Caddo, who belong to the same stock as the Wichita, or Pawnee Piqués, above referred to.⁵

Lemoyne D'Iberville in 1699 noticed among the Bayougoula in Louisiana that young women had their faces and breasts pricked and marked with black.

Bossu⁶ gives interesting details of his adoption by the Arkansas (Quapaw), and the tattooed mark of a roebuck imprinted on his thigh. He was seated on a tiger-skin; some straw was burnt, and the ashes mixed with water. The lines of the roebuck were drawn with this mixture, which were then pricked deep into the flesh with needles, till the blood came, which mixed with the ashes and made a figure which never could be effaced. He was next placed on white skins, and they danced and shouted for joy before him. The

¹ Mooney, *idem.*, part 2, p. 1095.

² Castañeda, *loc. cit.*, 444 (510).

³ *Ibid.*, p. 442 (506).

⁴ Margry, *Découvertes*, III, 363, 1879.

⁵ Alice C. Fletcher in *Handbook of Am. Ind.*, pt. I, 181.

⁶ *Travels through Louisiana*, 1750; London, 1771, vol. I, p. 107.

calumet was smoked. They told him that all their allies would welcome him as a brother when he showed his mark. The operation was very painful, and he had fever from it for a week. It was the mark of a warrior and chief.

Of the Kookies (Osages) he states (p. 163):

“He that had killed it [a monstrous magic serpent] carried the mark or impression of it tattooed on his body. Their process is this: They first draw the animal or figure with black, or gunpowder; then ‘sting’ the skin in the outline with one or more needles to the blood; the figure is then washed slightly with a sponge dipped in a solution of rock salt, which mixes the blood with the black, contracting the skin and rendering the figure indelible. It is a kind of knighthood, to which they are only entitled by great actions. These marks multiply with their achievements in war. One so tattooed without such deeds is degraded.”

Bossu saw one suitor who had himself so tattooed in order to impress and win a beautiful Indian girl. The tribe held a council which decided that he and all others who thus had a club imprinted when unearned should have the mark torn off; that is, the skin flayed. Bossu, pitying the young man, offered to and did obliterate the design by applying Spanish flies, first giving him a dose of opium to deaden the pain.

On page 167 he tells us: “The Indian women are allowed to make marks all over their body, and they endure the pain ‘to appear handsomer.’”

Mallery¹ states that “the Sixtown Choctaw still are distinguished by perpendicular lines tattooed on the chin.” And Mr James Mooney writes me: “Osage warriors of special achievement were designated by special tattooing. I think all the Gulf tribes tattooed.”

Adair² relates that “the blue marks over their breasts and arms” were as legible to them as our alphabet is to us.

“Their ink is made of the soot of the pitch pine, which sticks to the inside of a greased earthen pot; then they delineate the parts like the ancient Picts of Britain . . . they break through the skin with gair-fish-

¹ *Tenth Rep. Bur. Am. Eth.*, p. 395.

² *History of the American Indians, Particularly Adjoining the Mississippi, East and West Florida, Georgia, South and North Carolina, and Virginia*, by James Adair, Esq., A Trader with the Indians and a Resident in their Country for Forty Years; London, 1775.

teeth and rub over them [the soot] to register them among the brave, and the impression is lasting."

A new design rewarded each scalp. False, unearned tattoo-marks were erased partially by rubbing them with the juice of green corn as a disgrace.

These remarks are in "General Observations on the North American Indians" (p. 377), and seem to apply to all the Indians with whom Adair was familiar.

Speck¹ says as to the Indians in the Southeastern states that the surviving members of this group are the Creek (Muskogi) tribes, the Yuchi, Cherokee, Choctaw, and Chickasaw, and the former Siouan tribes of the Carolinas, and that tattooing was quite generally practised. He also refers to scarification, which with mutilations were commonly practised in Mexico and many other parts of North America.

FLORIDA. — Hawkins' *Voyages*, 1565, relates :²

"They do not omit to paint their bodies also with curious knots, or antike worke, as every man in his own fancy deviseth, which painting to continue the better, they use with a thorne to pricke their flesh, and dent in the same, whereby the painting may take better hold. The war paint could be washed off."

A Florida chief, Satourina (1564), is shown as tattooed in plates viii and ix as drawn by Le Moyne.³

Fifteen years ago some of the Indians in the Tampa district were seen to be tattooed on the hands and forearms with figures of arrows, tomahawks, and also lines.

VIRGINIA. — Capt John Smith⁴ describes the Virginia Indians as having their "heads and shoulders painted red." Many other forms of paintings were in use. They "adorne themselves most with copper beads and paintings. Their women some have their legs, hands, breasts and faces cunningly embroidered with divers

¹ *American Anthropologist*, April-June, 1907, pp. 287, 294.

² Hawkins, *Early English* (etc.) *Voyages*, ed. by Henry S. Burrage; New York, 1906, p. 121.

³ Hakluyt, *Voyages*; London, 1809, vol. III.

⁴ *The True Travels* (etc.) of Captain John Smith, 1593-1629; Richmond, 1819, vol. I, p. 130.

workes, as beasts, serpents, artificially wrought into the flesh with black spots."

Mr C. C. Willoughby¹ writes :

"Tattooing was practised by both sexes, but it seems to have been more general among the women, who had their faces, breasts, shoulders, arms, and thighs 'cunningly ymbrodered with divers workes . . . as beasts, serpents, artificially wrought into their flesh with blacke spots.'"² Some of the women in Hariot's illustrations have a broad band of a conventional pattern encircling their arms and legs, a narrow band around the wrist, and also a necklace-like pattern around the neck. In White's drawing (fig. 4) tattooing is shown upon the arms and legs only.

"Hariot says that the chief men of Roanoke did not tattoo or paint. The men generally had a totemic mark (cicatrix) raised upon the back of the shoulder or some other part of the body, large enough to be easily distinguished at a considerable distance."

This figure 4 and also figures 3 and 5 show on the faces and elsewhere marks which may be tattooing. In fact Bushnell³ states that the original water-color sketch by White (fig. 4) does clearly show tattooing on the face, two lines of dots across each cheek, *three vertical lines* on the *chin*, and a *triangular* design in the *center* of the forehead. And he gives a copy (fig. 32, p. 448).

Plate VII, a Virginia Indian, in the *American Anthropologist* for Jan.-Mar., 1907 (p. 42), shows marks which possibly may be tattooing.

As to the "raised" marks on the chiefs, Hariot spells the word "rased." Now the earliest account of Eskimo tattooing is that of Frobisher, given in Hakluyt, 1589:⁴ "Some of their women rase their faces, . . . upon which they lay color which continueth dark azurine." In short does not "rased" mean incised, tattooed, in Hariot, and not raised cicatrices? There were sacrificial scars, and those the result of mutilations; but raised cicatrices have been nearly always confined to races so dark that tattooing would not show on their skin. Mallery⁵ takes this view of it, and gives

¹ The Virginia Indians, *American Anthropologist*, Jan.-Mar., 1907, p. 65.

² His note quotes William Strachey, *The Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britania*, Hakluyt Soc., p. 66, and Capt Smith above cited, p. 130.

³ *American Anthropologist*, April-June, 1907, p. 448.

⁴ Murdoch in *Ninth Rep. Bur. Am. Eth.*, p. 627.

⁵ *Tenth Rep. Bur. Am. Eth.*, p. 393.

illustrations of these devices (fig. 516), calling them "Virginian tattoo designs." Of the marks composing the seven devices, eleven are long, thin arrows, and the remaining three swastika-like figures made up of slender lines. Such patterns would show much more distinctly if colored than if mere scars, and scars could hardly show such minute outlines as a small arrowhead, etc.

"The inhabitants of all the country for the greater part have marks *raised* on their backs, whereby it may be known what Princes subjects they be, and of what places they have their original" — Harriot expresses it, and mentions only these tribal *raised* marks. Smith does not speak of these, but of the general custom of elaborate tattooing — a good illustration of the fact that writers do not record all the data. Neither apparently knew our word tattoo.

In Virginia the art was highly developed and artistic, and seems to have been general. As the women used it for ornament, all of them would naturally have some mark, and the tribe mark would be on all the men.

MIDDLE STATES AND OHIO. — Loskiel and Heckewelder both indicate that tattooing was at least a very common practice among the Delawares and Iroquois, who occupied the greater part of the Middle States and Ohio; and the Jesuit Relations, Potherie, and Sagard confirm them as to the Iroquois.

Heckewelder was a missionary among the Indians in Pennsylvania and Ohio, and gives interesting details. Tattooing was —

"a custom formerly much in use among them. . . . As late as 1762, when I resided at Tuscorawas, on the Muskingum, tattooing was still practised by some Indians; a valiant chief of that village, named Wawundochwalend, desirous of having another name given him, had the figure of a water-lizard engraved or tattooed on his face, above the chin, when he received the name Twakachshawsu, the water-lizard."¹

"In the year 1742, a veteran warrior of the Lenape nation and Monsey tribe, renowned among his own people for his bravery and prowess, and equally dreaded by their enemies, joined the Christian Indians who then resided at this place [Bethlehem, Pa.]. This man, who was then at an advanced age, had a most striking appearance, and could not be viewed without astonishment. Besides that his body was

¹ Indian Nations, by Rev. John Heckewelder, *Mem. Hist. Soc. Pa.*, vol. XII, Phila., 1876.

full of scars, where he had been struck and pierced by the arrows of the enemy, there was not a spot to be seen, on that part of it which was exposed to view, but what was tattooed over with some drawing relative to his achievements, so that the whole together struck the beholder with amazement and terror. On his whole face, neck, shoulders, arms, thighs, and legs, as well as on his breast and back, were represented scenes of the various actions and engagements he had been in; in short, the whole of his history was there deposited, which was well known to those of his nation, and was such that all who heard it thought it could never be surpassed by man."

At his baptism he received the name of Michael, and he died July 23, 1756, when about eighty years of age.¹

Loskiel² writes of him :

"In his younger days he had been an experienced and courageous warrior. . . . The serenity of his countenance when laid in his coffin made a singular contrast with the figures scarified on his face when a warrior. These were as follows: upon the right cheek, and temple, a large snake; from the under lip a pole passed over the nose, and between the eyes to the top of his forehead, ornamented at every quarter of an inch with round marks, representing scalps; upon the left cheek two lances, crossing each other; and on the lower jaw the head of a wild boar. All these figures were executed with remarkable neatness."

Heckewelder (p. 206) describes the process which he once saw. It was done quickly and caused little pain. The designs were drawn on the skin with a powder made of burnt poplar bark. The operator, with a small stick, a little larger than a common match, to the end of which needles were fastened, quickly pricked over the whole so that blood was drawn, then a coat of the powder was rubbed on and left to dry. He also states that before the whites came they used sharp flint stones, or the sharp teeth of a fish.

Loskiel³ writes :

"The most singular part of these ornaments is displayed in figures made by scarification, representing serpents, birds, and other creatures. The operation being performed with a needle, gunpowder is rubbed into

¹ Ibid., p. 206.

² Pt. II, ch. XIII, p. 189.

³ *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians of North America*; London, 1794, pt. I, pp. 49, 52.

the puncture, and sometimes the whole upper part of their bodies is filled with these drawings ; they appear at a distance to wear a harness. Sometimes by these decorations they acquired a particular appellation, by which their pride is exceedingly gratified. Thus a captain of the Iroquois, whose breast was all covered with black scarifications, was called the Black Prince. The intent of these ornaments is not to please others, but to give themselves a courageous and formidable appearance."

"Very few of the Delaware and Iroquois women think it decent to imitate the men in scarifying their skin."

He also ¹ gives a long description of the idols (*manitos*) of these tribes, which depicts them to be exactly the same as the *zemis* of Haiti.

NEW ENGLAND AND THE BRITISH PROVINCES. — Tattooing was probably practised by all the tribes in New England and eastern Canada, but details are lacking. Wood² speaks of it "hereabouts," and LeClerc³ mentions it among the Micmac. Lescarbot denies it however.

There are some prints and illustrations which show tattooing in this district.

The fact that the Jesuit Relations, Potherie, and Sagard seem to imply that tattooing was common here has already been alluded to.

It is worthy of notice that *branding* for crime was occasionally recorded in New Hampshire. This was probably tattooing, like the supposed case of *branding* in southern California. Oviedo (p. 204) uses once the equivalent of "branded," "ironed" (*herrado*), for tattooing where the process is described. In 1818 the Massachusetts legislature passed an act compelling the puncturing of the skin, and rubbing in some coloring matter on the inner surface of the upper part of the left arm, with the letters "Mass. S. P.," and the date of discharge, of every second-term convict. Tattooing is old in New England, although as a punishment it was perhaps derived from England.

One of the great difficulties in treating our subject is that details or even mention are so often absent when the practice must have been common. Even the slightest hint is sometimes of value.

¹ Pt. I, pp. 39, 40.

² *New England's Prospect*.

³ *Nouvelle relation de la Gaspésie* ; Paris, 1691.

AM. ANTH., N. S., 11—26.

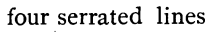
WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI. — Many of the tribes west of the Mississippi practised the art, some elaborately. The Wichita of Kansas and Oklahoma covered so much of the body as to be called by the French "Pricked Pawnees," as already noted. Mr James Mooney writes me :

"The Kiowa women tattoo a small circle on the forehead. It is called *deñ-sep*, 'forehead sewing, or piercing.' It is done, with no special ceremony, by expert older women. Wichita men and women tattooed formerly over a great part of the body. Osage warriors of certain achievement were designated by special tattooing. The Mandans and others tattooed (see Maximilian, Matthews, etc.) ; I think all the Gulf tribes did. The cross with the Indians signifies the four cardinal points. The primary Indian motive in tattooing was probably religious, the next for tribal identification, after that for military designation, and last of all for ornament."

Mallery¹ states that the Kiowa women frequently had small circles tattooed on the forehead, and (p. 395) Wichita men wore tattoo lines from the lips downward. They are called "tattooed people."

An Arapaho chief,² Black Coyote, had seventy sacrificial scars made by order of a voice in a dream to save the lives of his children. The devices are parallel lines, crosses, concentric circles, and one a sacred pipe, and are on both breasts and arms.

Col. H. L. Scott, U. S. A., writes me :

"I know the Mandans, Kiowas, Arapahos, Osages, Wichitas did it ; the Wichita women especially made concentric rings around the breast. The Arapahos do not tattoo now on the breast as they did in 1819 and 1846, and the custom has gone from their memory. Apache women of Arizona sometimes have four serrated lines () above the nose, in the middle of the forehead. I copy from my notes, made in 1897, of conversations with Kiowa Indians in the sign language of the Plains :

"When I (Iseco, a Kiowa) was a boy, we used to see the Osages on the Arkansas, and the chiefs tattooed around the neck with a ring of points, then another ring lower down, which came down on the chest. Only chiefs had that, and after they had struck an enemy. Most all

¹ *Tenth Rep. Bur. Am. Eth.*, p. 395.

² Plate cv, p. 898, *Fourteenth Rep. Bur. Am. Eth.*, pt. 2 (Mooney).

chiefs had it. The Kiowa and Kiowa Apache women sometimes had a ring (○) or a cross (+) over the nose, and between the eyes. The Tawakanies, Wacos, Kiechies, and Wichitas tattoo. Those were the only people we knew who did. I never saw a Comanche woman do it.' "

The term Arapaho is a Crow word signifying "tattooed on the breast." Their tribal mark was three equidistant blue punctures on the breast.¹

"In the sign language the Kiowa designate them [the Mandan] by indicating tattoo marks, stating that the women, and sometimes the men, tattooed the arms, breast, and around the lips." Clark says the proper sign for Mandan designates tattooing on the chin, and lower part of the face; also that fifty years ago the Mandan women had a small spot tattooed on the forehead and a line on the chin, while chiefs alone were tattooed, and this on one side of the breast, or one arm and breast. It may be that the small tattooed circle on the foreheads of many Kiowa women is an imitation from their Mandan sisters. Matthews saw "a few old men of the Hidatsa with parallel bands tattooed on the chest, throat, and arms, but not on any other part of the body, or on any young or middle-age persons in the tribe." ²

Of the Omaha tribe Long writes :

"The persons are often neatly tattooed in straight lines and in angles on the breast, neck, and arms. The daughters of chiefs and those of wealthy Indians, generally are denoted by a round small spot tattooed on the forehead. The process of tattooing is performed by persons who make it a business of profit. Their instrument consists of three or four needles tied to the truncated and flattened end of a stick, in such arrangement that the points may form a straight line; the figure is traced upon the skin, and some dissolved gunpowder, or pulverized charcoal, is pricked in . . . The operators must be well paid." ³ [So all cannot afford it.]

A drawing made by Kurz about 1850, now in the Bern Museum, shows the sitting figure of an Omaha. The arms and face are

¹ Scott in *American Anthropologist*, July-Sept., 1907, pp. 557-560.

² Mooney, *Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians*, *Seventeenth Rep. Bur. Am. Eth.*, p. 159.

³ *Expedition to the Rocky Mountains*, 1819, 1820, under Major S. H. Long, by Edwin James; London, 1823, vol. II, p. 8.

tattooed, and perhaps there is a necklace device, and also lines on the forehead, chin, and hand.¹ A Chippewa woman (fig. 10, p. 13) shows lines on the chin.

"The Chippewa have tattooed cheeks and foreheads. Both sexes have blue or black bars, or from one to four straight lines to distinguish the tribe to which they belong. They tattoo by entering an awl or needle under the skin and drawing it out, immediately rubbing powdered charcoal into the wounds."²

The female Midē' of the Chippewa often tattoo temples, forehead, or cheeks, for the headache or toothache. The operation is accompanied by songs and gesticulations to expel the demons who are supposed to cause the pain.³

Of the Dakota the Rev. J. Owen Dorsey says:

"In order that the ghost may travel the ghost road in safety, it is necessary for each Dakota, during his life, to be tattooed either in the middle of the forehead or on the wrists. In that event his spirit will go directly to the *Many* Lodges."⁴

In one of the myths of the Nez Percés is found the phrase: "Once a rabbit had a human arm that he had taken from a body, It was finely decorated."⁵ But Spinden⁶ remarks that tattooing was not practised among the Nez Percés.

Among the Mandan of North Dakota, Curtis⁷ found "tattooing done by means of porcupine quills and charcoal was frequently seen on the right breast and arm of the men, and on the lower part of the face of women. This was always done by certain men to the accompaniment of songs, the words of which were Assiniboin."

Formerly tattooing was more frequently practised among the Hidatsa than at present. Powdered charcoal was pricked in with a splinter of bone.⁸ Lean Wolf, second chief among them, had tattooed horizontal stripes, one-half to one-third inch broad, run-

¹ Bushnell in *American Anthropologist*, Jan.-Mar., 1908, p. 11, fig. 6.

² *Tenth Rep. Bur. Am. Eth.*, p. 406.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 395.

⁴ *Tenth Rep. Bur. Am. Eth.*, p. 395.

⁵ Spinden in *Jour. Am. Folk-Lore*, April-Sept., 1908, p. 154.

⁶ Nez Percé Indians, *Mem. Am. Anthropological Asso.*, vol. 11, pt. 3, 1908, p. 222

⁷ *The North American Indian*, vol. v, p. 343, 1909.

⁸ *Fourth Rep. Bur. Am. Eth.*, 1886, pp. 49, 52.

ning from the middle of the breast, round the right side of the body to the spinal column. The right leg and right arm were encircled by similar bands, between which were spaces of equal width. He professed not to be able to explain these marks, but he always put them on his pictographs.¹

Many of the Indians now with so-called "Wild West shows" have their chests and arms covered with all sorts of tattoo devices — animals, figures, etc., — probably done for exhibition purposes, and to gratify their love of ornament.

MEANING. — According to Mr Holmes,² "The aborigines throughout the western continent either painted or tattooed their bodies. In details they may have been governed to some extent by individual caprice; but there is evidence that they usually followed established and rigid laws of symbolism."

"When Indians now even make pictographs it is with intention and care, seldom for mere amusement."³

Among many tribes their totem must be tattooed on their bodies, and all strangers when adopted were marked with this tribal device, as the Quapaw a roebuck, the Chippewa a crane.

An "adopted brother's" design bound two Indians to assist each other in case of need. Other patterns indicated achievements in war or the chase, who was their chief, etc.

Vertical lines on the chin, which indicated a married woman among the Eskimo and the Indians of the Pacific coast, are found with the same meaning in Syria, Egypt, Tunis, among the Chukchi, in New Zealand, etc.

A New Zealand minister, in a sermon recently delivered in Indiana, said: "Husbands, tattoo your wives. It is a sure cure for the divorce habit. Put the tattoo marks on their chins," etc.⁴

It is a singular thing that these three vertical lines show marriage in such widespread districts. It may be accidental, but the fact is worth noting.

So a cross meaning the four directions with Indians, or a round

¹ *Fourth Rep. Bur. Am. Eth.*, 1886, p. 64.

² W. H. Holmes in *Handbook of Am. Inds.*, pt. 1, p. 325.

³ Mallery in *Tenth Rep. Bur. Am. Eth.*, p. 29.

⁴ *Boston Sunday Post*, Aug. 16, 1908.

spot, or a circle, or two concentric circles are very often found in the middle of the forehead among the Indians, and also in many parts of the world. The Hindu wife paints a pink round spot there every day. At a New Year reception given in Bombay by a rich Parsee merchant, every European lady on entering received a coin impressed securely on that same spot by the host. When a Gypsy dancing girl in Egypt particularly captivates a rich admirer by her graces, he sticks a large gold piece on the center of her brown forehead. There are reasons for these spots selected, and the marks.

The triangle again has a meaning in distant countries. In the Pacific it is an exceedingly common tattoo design, and symbolic.¹ The Indian woman in White's drawing, already referred to, has a triangle on her forehead. When a Turkish baby is sick, a charm is placed upon it, consisting of garlic, alum, and verses of the Koran, all sewed up in a little triangle of blue cloth.

It is impossible here to do more than hint at a few devices. The subjects are beset with difficulties and require careful discussion.

The Seri Indians would not disclose to McGee² the secrets of their elaborate face paintings, for he saw no tattooing.

Very few have studied the subject carefully. Taking the Haida, for example, some authors simply say there is tattooing, others that there is but little; yet Swan's splendid paper shows all had elegant devices, often over the whole body. So with the Eskimo: from many writers one would infer the custom was occasional and of little moment. Gordon,³ who went into the matter with care, found the practice universal at least among the women of the Western Eskimo, and that the marks had a meaning, and there were often large designs.

CONCLUSION. — The American Indian, gifted by nature with an exuberant imagination, yet made serious work of his mystic ceremonies and everything of a symbolic character. Tattooing would seem to be just the kind of art which would appeal to him, requir-

¹ See the writer's "Tattooing," etc., *American Anthropologist*, July-Sept., 1908, p. 385.

² *Seventeenth Rep. Bur. Am. Eth.*, p. 166*.

³ Notes on the Western Eskimo, *Trans. Dept. Archaeology Univ. Pa.*, 11, pl. 1.

ing fortitude in the operation, and preserving indelible marks of his tribe, prowess, mystic symbols, and also gratifying his love of ornament.

This brief survey discloses a common practice of the custom over the whole of North America.

Among some tribes, as the Haida, Iroquois, "Pricked Pawnees," Delawares, the tribes of Virginia, Louisiana, Texas, etc., enough is recorded to show with them a general elaborate practice of tattooing, often the whole body.

The Eskimo still retain the custom as universal, as do many of the tribes on the Pacific coast. In the greater part of the United States, it, like the Indians themselves, has disappeared. The remnants left still west of the Mississippi have very little of it now, and often have entirely forgotten the neglected custom.

Among the ancient natives in the West Indies, Mexico, and Central America, tattooing was general, if not almost universal. This is perhaps the reasonable inference from what has been written, but many things point to the same conclusion.

The Indians did not look upon tattooing as a disfigurement, as do so many civilized people. They took pride in enduring the pain. They regarded it as enhancing the beauty of the fair sex, and the good looks of the braves, just as they did their body-painting, to us so hideous. Certain devices could be worn only for valiant deeds, other designs marked all slaves or subjects. Why should not every member of a tribe have borne the tribe mark if some did? A long study of the subject in other parts of the world discloses the fact that tattooing was and is in so many countries much more common than is supposed; indeed it is often universal where this was unknown to scholars. Boys and girls, too, themselves and for one another, prick in little dots and patterns for "beauty," to "show nerve," and to imitate. It must have been so among the Indians. The slightest mark is tattooing. It is a subject which many writers did not care for or notice. The striking extensive, startling figures were usually the only ones which attracted the attention and were recorded.

Today there is still an interesting and fruitful field for study among the Eskimo and on the Pacific. Much still can be learned

among the remaining Indians in the West and in Mexico, and perhaps Central America.

There are great difficulties in obtaining such information. One must understand the subject, know Indians well, and gain their confidence. Many things they do not like to speak of, or disclose, and they find it hard to describe, and to explain them even when willing.

ALLSTON, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS